DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 039 845 HE 001 571

AUTHOR Hodgkinson, Harold L.
TITLE Campus Governance - The Next Decade.
INSTITUTION California Univ., Berkeley. Center for Research and Development in Higher Education.
PUB DATE 70
NOTE 4p.; Article in The Research Reporter; v5 n1 1970

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$0.30
DESCRIPTORS Activism, *Administrative Organization, Conflict, *Decentralization, Decision Making, *Governance, *Higher Education, *State Universities, Student Behavior

ABSTRACT

In our society, the majority of the population is under 25, and the value orientation of this group is replacing the old one of the Protestant Ethic. Work is deemphasized and fulfillment stressed; joy is substituted for guilt. The campus has, however, not moved an iota toward this new ethic, and much of student protest revolves around that. During the next decade, the number of adversary situations in governance will probably increase, and factional struggles for power and control of the university may ruin it. The great public institutions which enroll an ever greater number of students, have reported significant increases in student unrest, and because of their size, will continue to be vulnerable to disruption. Existing institutions must be selectively decentralized so that their governance systems can be both small and large simultaneously: decisions affecting individual lives and commitments should be made in the smallest possible units, while matters of logistics and support services should be decided in the largest context available, tapping into national networks. (AF)

The Research Reporter
The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Volume V, Number 1, 1970

ED039845

# CAMPUS GOVERNANCE —

## — FACULTY PARTICIPATION

T. R. McCONNELL

PROFOUND CHANGES are occurring in patterns of authority and influence in higher education. In some institutions there is an internal struggle for participation and power among students, faculty, administrators, and trustees. In response to campus disruption, external forces are increasing their pressure on colleges and universities. Legislatures are considering punitive laws for controlling disruption and violence. Some governors are asserting political or personal power, or both, over public institutions. Pressure groups—from left or right, from the influential elites to the dispossessed minorities—are trying to use universities to protect their interests or to realize their aspirations. Systems of public institutions are also impinging on the autonomy of member colleges and universities, in many cases leaving institutions frustrated in their efforts to determine their own destinies.

One of the most significant changes during the last quarter of a century is the great growth of faculty power, coupled with rapid faculty professionalization. Either by formal delegation or tacit approval, college and university faculties have attained a high degree of professional self-government. They exercise effective control of the education and certification of entrance to the profession; the selection, retention, and promotion of their members; the content of the curriculum; work schedules; and the evaluation of performance. The individual faculty member's independence is enhanced by the principles of academic freedom and tenure.

### PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

Except in crises, a limited group of faculty members conducts the business for their colleagues. The report of the Study Commission on University Governance at Berkeley observed that ". . . there is a marked tendency for a relatively small number of faculty members to monopolize the membership of the most powerful committees and to rotate the chairmanships among themselves." In other words, oligarchies take over the machinery of faculty government. The Study Commission observed that the combinatic and bu-
reaucracy tend members
with unorthodc mmittees.
The oligarchy t

The fact tha g "elites"
take over facu umented.
An ongoing st rship for

next page

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

HE 001 571

## — THE NEXT DECADE

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

ANY SOCIAL STRUCTURE is bound together by a social cement which consists of equal parts of reciprocity and trust. The degree of cohesion will be dependent upon the amount of social cement present. The more cement the easier it will be to enculturate the young into adult society, and the less cement the more difficult. On the other hand, living in an era of declining faith in social institutions can be enormously exciting where (the sky is the limit) one can think and act in a variety of styles and pursue his own goals as far as he wishes. For the individual human being, living in the declining years of the Roman Empire must have been glorious. It is the old who prefer the stable life, and the young who seek risk, stimulation, and change. In our society, a majority of the population is under 25. Until the recent declines in birth rates have an effect on the population distribution in 15 years or so, we will be living in a juvenocracy in which the value orientations of the young will compete with those of the old. Political power will continue to be in the hands of older citizens, but youth will fight that power at every turn and blunt its effectiveness.

continued on page 5

Another way to look at the problem is in terms of social class. When Warner and others began the community study movement in American sociology, the dominant class pattern was pyramid shaped, with a lower class majority. At the present time, America has achieved a middle class majority, an extremely important fact, for it indicates that a majority of Americans of all ages have a high degree of affluence. At present this affluence is used primarily to consume goods and services and transcends the bounds of age. Thus the "generation gap" hypothesis may mask as much as it reveals, not allowing us to see the over-thirty suburbanite studying Zen, taking Yoga exercises, and smoking marijuana. This also suggests a general lack of potency in the so-called Protestant Ethic; people work for long-term rewards rather than immediate ones, feel that personal gratification is evil, and that leisure is bad. This system, based on guilt and feelings of inadequacy which force the individual to work harder, is being replaced by a new value system. Its outlines are somewhat hazy, but it seems to de-emphasize work for its own sake and stress self-fulfillment. It substitutes joy for guilt, emphasizes deep personal communication rather than bureaucratic superficiality, the virtues of free time used in the expression of personality, as in the arts, and a renewed sense of social responsibility toward the rejected.

## THE CONSEQUENCES FOR CAMPUS GOVERNANCE

Part of the problem, although it is seldom made public, is that the reward system of the campus has not moved one iota toward the new ethic we have presented. The structure does seem inhuman, and seems designed to punish people and reject them; not only students but often, faculty. The undergraduate academic program with its assumption that only the *cognitive* matters and the *affective* is evil or unimportant, is at least a hidden agenda item if not a source of much student protest.

Our analysis of cultural factors would suggest that it is highly unlikely that the strategy of appealing to institutional loyalty will be a good strategy for dealing with students, who are becoming increasingly autonomous and independent, or with individual faculty members whose loyalty is often more with the learned society of which he is a member and which gives him his rewards. There probably will be lessened personal or institutional trust in the next decade of higher education.

At the same time, a word must be said concerning the amazing diversity of campuses, in terms of both students and governance. Seniors at some institutions know less than entering freshmen at other institutions. While it is clear that the number of students who live the new value system is growing, the majority probably still represent a clear commitment to vocationalism, to a concern for getting into, and ultimately out of, college. While there are institutions in which the drug scene arouses no interest—the decision to smoke pot or not having become a purely personal issue, as with drinking—there are many other institutions in which the major ethical question of the day

Reprinted from Phi Delta Kappan, Sept. 1969

*"Good heavens! I thought the Lord was on the trustees' side!"*

is whether or not girls should be permitted to wear Bermuda shorts in the dormitory social rooms.

This diversity also carries over into the way people behave in various governance configurations which require greater or less personal autonomy. For example, one recent study (Educational Testing Service, 1970) develops institutional profiles in such areas of concern as academic freedom, commitment to democratic governance, and institutional esprit. A well-known experimental liberal arts college scores high on commitment to democratic governance and academic freedom and low on institutional esprit, while a military college scores very low on democratic governance and academic freedom, and quite high on institutional esprit. Liberal arts people would undoubtedly find the military college environment and governance repressive and intolerable, while the military personnel would be equally ill at ease in the swinging, permissive experimental scene.

This suggests that there is no one ideal form or structure of governance which can be exported to any institution of any size and mission. The easiest answer is that the "flatter" the structure of governance—the fewer the levels between governor and governed—the more democratic the system. Unpublished data from the AAHE Campus Governance Project indicate that the argument is much more complex: If people wish to, they can be dishonest and deceitful with each other regardless of the height of the governance hierarchy. Dewey is certainly at least partially right: Democratic government is a *reciprocal* way for individuals to deal with each other. This fact transcends structure. There is no structure which will force people to trust each other, although some structures may facilitate communication and trust, at least for certain types of people.

## ADVERSARIES AND REPRESENTATIVES

The next decade will probably be one in which interpersonal trust may well be at a low ebb in many sectors of our society. This will mean an increase in the number of adversary kinds of configurations in governance. It will

also mean that faith in the idea of representation as a governance model ("I voted for Jim, so Jim speaks for me") will be in a decline. The concept of collective negotiations, already well established in community colleges, will become increasingly popular in four-year colleges and universities, both for financial gain in salaries and to increase faculty power vis-a-vis the increasingly powerful state boards. As state boards of higher education do not trust institutions any more than institutions trust their constituents, the decade will probably show a steady erosion of institutional autonomy.

Well over 300 institutions are said to be experimenting with a campus senate comprised of faculty, student, and administration representatives. Against this background, the current effort to develop a mixed campus senate would seem to be a last gasp of our traditional concept of symbolic representative participation, rather than a new configuration which would allow the participation of all of those interested in a problem.

During the decade, it is likely that trustees will do a lot of learning about the institutions which they have in trust. Already, many have established informal contacts with faculty and student groups. The trustees themselves will unquestionably become more diverse (the Hartnett (1969) ETS study has indicated just how homogeneous trustees now are), with faculty and students represented, and will be comprised of a broader spectrum of individuals than the Republican banker-lawyer types which now dominate boards. Because members often have been chosen primarily for their ability to raise funds, it is to be hoped that the boards of private colleges will come to see this as their major contribution. But it is more likely that public and private boards will, as Likert has shown for industrial management, tighten up in times of stress, even though in industry it can be demonstrably shown that this is precisely the wrong thing to do.

As trustees establish more informal linkages with campus groups, the position of the president will become even more untenable. Part of his influence, if not power, has come from the fact that he has been the primary relay between the board and the campus. Many presidents have become skillful in using this linkage; for example, telling on-campus groups that the board would not accept certain measures when in fact he had not even presented the measures to the board. But with informal contacts established, faculty and student groups can go directly to the board without going through the president, causing considerable erosion of the president's position.

Out of this intense factionalist struggle for power and control will come impotent institutions, as the factions will basically cancel each other out. As Clark Kerr put it, "For every educational giant, there is an educational giant-killer." Perhaps the most vital question of the decade will be in this context—if every group is simply a competing faction, from SDS to the Regents, and they all disagree over who should have the power to decide what, then the real question is *who decides who decides?* If one follows the labor negotiations model, one is stuck with trying to find a neutral third party for binding arbitration. Men on two sides of a table, one side representing management, the other representing labor is the classic negotiations model. It is unlikely that any carpenter could make a table with enough sides to seat all the factions in a typical campus dispute. Even if they could be seated, how could 16 factions negotiate a mutually agreeable settlement? What does "leadership" mean in this context?

## THERE WAS AN OLD WOMAN WHO LIVED IN A SHOE . . .

At the heart of the problem of government, for campus and society, is the fact that the populations which governments are required to be responsive to have drastically increased. However, there has been almost no change in the basic governance configurations which provide the social cement necessary for all social institutions. There are too many of us, on campuses and in the country, for the old system to work unchanged.

Support for the impact of organizational size on governance comes from a study the author has been doing for the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education, entitled "Institutions in Transition." This study reports data from 1230 institutions on all changes that have taken place in the last two decades. Three hundred and fifty-five of these 1230 institutions report an increase in student protests and demonstrations in the past decade. The single most important factor in explaining the difference between those institutions which report an increase in protest and those which do not is the size of the student body. For example, of the 135 PhD granting institutions in the study, those reporting increases in student protests had a mean student enrollment of 12,014, while those reporting no increase had a mean student body of only 5,360 (Figure 1). The same holds true for other levels of highest degree awarded. Without exception, if we look by type of control, we again find that as the size of the institution increases, the percentage of institutions reporting increased student protests and demonstrations also increases. Even more striking, if we put all 1230 campuses into five categories and look at the percentage reporting increases in student protests it is even clearer that size will tell (Figure 2).

The enormous public university structures which are to be the major pattern for tomorrow will not go away.

FIGURE 1
Report of Increased Protest by Mean Institutional Size

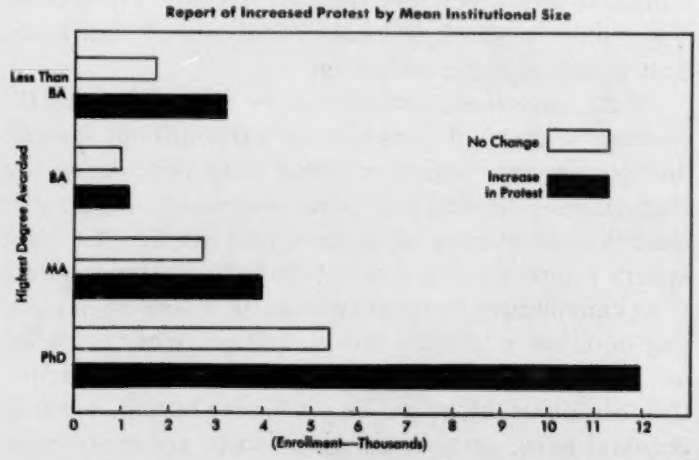

FIGURE 2

**Institutions Reporting Increased Student Demonstrations, by Size of Student Body**

| Enrollment | Percent |
|---|---|
| Small—Under 1,000 | 14 |
| Medium—1,000–5,000 | 32 |
| Large—5,000–15,000 | 58 |
| Giant—15,000–24,000 | 75 |
| Super—Over 25,000 | 88 |

They will continue to be vulnerable to disruption. On a campus of 30,000 people, 30 leaders can find 500 people who will support almost any cause. And 500 is enough to cause a great deal of trouble, particularly if it is a different group of 500 people on a different issue every week.

## SELECTIVE DECENTRALIZATION AND THROW AWAY GOVERNANCE

Although it is after the fact, one approach for those institutions, and in fact all institutions, is to consider various plans for decentralization of governance functions in those areas which directly affect the participant's quality of life. It is easy to see that a class of 50 students is precisely the wrong size to be taught effectively—it is too big for interpersonal contact and much too small to be taught economically. Our governance structures, for the most part, resemble a class of 50 students.

The necessary task will be that of redesigning existing institutions so that their governance can be *both small and large simultaneously*. Current writing on decentralization often expresses the naive hope that the university would go away. Even if the cluster college concept, which has not yet caught on, becomes the vogue, a university of 30 autonomous separate campuses is still a university: There must be linkages across the colleges; there must be reciprocity *and* autonomy between parts and whole.

From the model of class size we can say that the ideal governance structure would be a system in which decisions affecting individual's lives and commitments would be made in the smallest possible units, while matters of logistics and support services should be made in the largest context available, tapping into national networks. People, from registrars to full professors, will have to get used to much more ad hoc decision-making of rapidly shifting groups. More and more "Kleenex" structures will be devised to solve a problem and then be thrown away. The older pyramid model of governance suggested that the same structure could work to solve almost all problems. There is a widespread awareness today that *different problems require different structures for their solution.* To solve a problem of student discontent with a structure which by its very nature suggests that students are inferior beings subordinate to the system, is to ask for trouble. It is also going to be more difficult to maintain a rigid line between "inside" and "outside" groups: Some citizens may be more concerned with, and knowledgeable about, the community college than its faculty.

Decentralization of everything is certainly no solution to the problems of governance. *Selective* decentralization might be at least a start in the right direction. For example, many campuses now practice what could be called "general education by the registrar's office" in which the curriculum of most students is determined to a large degree by centralized requirements in general education (so much of this, so much of that). This area could be decentralized to the level of the individual student and his faculty advisor. Standards for student social conduct are already being decentralized to the level of the individual dormitory, as have been faculty promotion and tenure decisions decentralized to the departmental level.

This program of selective decentralization will clearly result in more shifting membership in decision-making groups and fewer committees; committees which up until now endure forever by creating enough work to justify their own existence. This may be the right direction in which to move. Witness Columbia Junior College in California which operates with no standing committees whatsoever. Problems are dealt with by ad hoc committees consisting of almost everyone willing and concerned enough to work on the solution. Once a solution is arrived at the group disbands.

## THE DOUBLE FOCUS

Many aspects of our social structure seem to be moving toward more small unit participation in decision-making, while in other sectors we see huge new organizational entities emerging that are so new we have no comprehension of them. The trick is to begin thinking in these two organizational scales, the very large and the very small—*simultaneously*. The individual is thus a precious thing with freedom and a destiny, whose participation is needed in the small units in an urgent way while at the same time, huge systems of support and logistics must be developed to serve the small units. Ideally the individual has a social structure toward which he can show affection, industry, and loyalty, with goods and services provided by the macro-network. If we are to accept this model of the future, then one very urgent need we face is the development of a whole new breed of administrators who can *simultaneously* think and feel both humanely and logistically. They will be, in the best sense of the term, "cultural brokers," communicating the needs of each organizational dimension to the other.

## REFERENCES


Byrdahl, R. *University government in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

Dykes, A. *Faculty participation in academic decision-making.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1968.

Hartnett, R. *College and university trustees: Their backgrounds, roles, and educational attitudes.* Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1969.

Hodgkinson, H. Finding the levers. In W. H. Morris (Ed.), *Effective college teaching.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970. Pp. 148–157.

Hodgkinson, H. Who decides who decides? In G. K. Smith (Ed.), *Agony and promise.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970. Pp. 139–144.

Educational Testing Service. *The institutional functioning inventory: Preliminary technical manual.* Princeton: ETS, 1970.